

A. D. 1305. " his presence, and in that of the assembly, " the laws of king David shall be rehearsed, " together with the amendments and ad- " ditions made to the same by their other " kings. And the said lieutenant, with the " council there assembled, both Scots and " English, shall, without consulting with the " king, do the best they can to rectify and " amend those laws and usages which are " against God and reason; and such things " as they cannot rectify, or dare attempt, " without the king, together with those " matters they have actually agreed upon, " shall be ingrossed in writing, by the com- " mon consent of the said lieutenant, and " of the said assembly, to be by him, and " such persons from Scotland who shall be " chosen by the community of that king- " dom, there and then assembled, carried " before the king at Westminster, under " the said lieutenant's seal, three weeks af- " ter the Easter then following. It is far- " ther ordained, that they who shall then " come, shall have full power from the " community of the said land to ratify and

" confirm whatever shall be there ordained, " in the same manner as if the said com- " munity were collectively present. Farther, " that the king shall nominate certain per- " sons to confer with the said deputies, and " to review and consider the matters thus " presented, so as that such redress may " be granted, as that Scotland may enjoy a " state of peace and tranquility (1)."

By those regulations we may form some notion of Edward's profound knowledge in civil polity, and how well his successors have observed his schemes, with regard to the government of a neighbouring island, which had the misfortune, as Scotland then was, of being annexed to the crown, without being incorporated with the people of England. Edward was at Sheen (now Richmond, in Surrey) when he ratified all those regulations; and, rejoicing in the work of his own judgment, he accompanied the new-formed scheme with a general pardon to all the Scotch nobility who had borne arms against him. The form of it the reader will find in the notes (2). I must observe, however,

(1) En droit des leis & usages pur le gouvernement de la terre d'Escoce ordene est que l'usage de Scots & de Brets des oren- droit soit defendu, si que mes ne soit usez. Et ordene est ausint, que le lieutenant le roy, del hur quil ferra venus en la terre d'Escoce, face asssembler les bons gentz de la terre en aucun certain lieu, le quel il verra que a ce soit covenable, & que illo eques en la presence de luy & de gentz quil y serront assemeblez, soient recherchez les leis qui le roy David fist, & ausint les amendementz & les additions que nul este puis faitz par les roys. Et le lieutenant le roy entre li & le conseil quil y aura ausi bien des Engleis come des Escotz redrescent & amendent les leis & les usages que sont apartement en contre dieu & raison, folonc ce quil purront ensi brief terme, & si avant come il purront faulz lavisement du roy. Et celes choses quil ne purront redrescer ne noseront en prendre faulz le roy, en semblement oue celes quil averont accordez soient myses en escrit distinctement & apartement per commune assent, du lieutenant le roy, & des gentz qui y seront assemeblez, & desouz le seal le lieutenant soient portez au roy a Westmuster a treis semaynes apres la pasch, procheynement avenir par mesme le lieutenant, & par certaines gentz d'Escoce tantz & tier come les gentz de la communalte de la terre qui feront a cele assemble voudront escrire pur mesmes les choses porter au roy as lieu & terme avanditz pur accorder & affermer ce que en ferra ordene, ausi avant come eux tutz de la communalte purront faire sil y feusst presentz, si que adunques entre eux qui y vendront, & les gentz que le roy voudra assigner a eux, puissent les dites choses estre vewes & ex aminées, & que homme puisse ordener & affermer tien redres- cement par quel la terre d'Escoce puisse meutz estre quies & governee a toutz jours mes. Prynne, fol. 1055.

(2) Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitain, to all that shall see or hear these letters, greeting.

" For the perpetual memory of the things underwritten, we let you understand, that the people of Scotland, after they " were in our homage and ligence, and bound to us by oath of fealty, and by their charters or writings, as strongly as we " or our council knew how to order and direct, by evil counsel, arose and made war against us; committing robberies, " burnings, murthers, felonies, and many other evils and mischiefs, according to their power, in our said land of Scotland, " and also in part of England, contrary to their homages, fealties, and ligances aforesaid; and afterwards many of them " returned to our faith and obedience, and were received to our peace and favour; and, at last, John Cummin, lord of " Badenoch, and the others of his party, came also, and were received to our peace and faith; so as for their ransoms, and " amends for their trespasses and outrages against us, and for the establishment of Scotland, they should be at our ordinance " and pleasure. Notwithstanding these contempts, trespasses, outrages, and disobediences of the people of Scotland toward " us, have been so great and heavy, as there cannot be sufficient amends, and due satisfaction be made for them at any time; " and though we cannot suffer such crimes to pass without some punishment; yet, seeing those people have behaved them- " selves well and loyally since our last being in those parts, and for the hopes we have of their good behaviour and service for " the future, being willing to do them special grace, we have granted, and do hereby grant, that their lives and limbs shall " be safe, and that they shall be free from imprisonment, and not be disinherited; saving to us always the lands, tenements " and lordships, the demesnes and appurtenances of the royalty of Scotland (which John Baliol, late king thereof, gave " away and alienated) to do our pleasure with them. And we also do hereby pardon and release, to the people aforesaid, " that have submitted and received our peace and faith, the crimes committed against us; the anger, rancour, and all man- " ner of ill-will, we any ways had against them; so as they shall be bound to pay what is ordered by us and our council, " according to our decree and determination, which follow in this form:

I. " We order and decree, That John Cummin, and the others with him, who came into our peace and faith upon the " covenants granted them, shall, to make amends for the crimes by them committed, pay three years value of their lands " and rents, towards the building of new castles in Scotland, for security of the nation, and preserving the peace; or to " other uses, as we shall think fit. And we farther pardon the said John Cummin and David Graham, their exiles, and " remaining out of Scotland, according to the covenants aforesaid. Further, It is ordained by us and our council, That the " people of Scotland who submittted to us before John de Baliol, shall pay only the rents of two years of their lands; except " thole that can shew themselves acquitted by our special grant or deed." The same order was made concerning Adam de " Gordon and Simon Frazer, knights, and therefore need not be repeated. " Farther, We decree and determine, That the " bishops, abbots, priors, and the clergy of the kingdom of Scotland, except the bishop of Glasgow, shall pay, as their ran- " som, and for their crimes, the value of their rents and lands for one year; except those that can shew, by special deed, " or other manner, that they ought to be discharged." The bishop of Glasgow was to be discharged upon the same terms " with John Cummin, in all respects; as also to his banishment, which was remitted. " Further, That Ingelram de Umfra- " ville, because he made his subission a little before these letters were granted, should pay five years value, &c. and that " William de Baliol and John Wishart should pay, for the same reason, four years rent. Farther, That Hugh de Adressan, " John de Gourley, John de Naper, and John de Makilgoigny, who were of the retinue of the said William Ingelram and " John, should pay three years value. Further, For the time and manner of payment of those compositions or fines, the " king's lieutenant, or chamberlain, for Scotland, should make a reasonable and just extent of the lands of the offenders, " according to the present value of the lands; and, according to that extent, the composition or fine was to be levied, and " paid every year, at the usual time of payment, half the value, and so from year to year till the whole was paid; and the " other half of their lands and rents should remain to them, for their support and maintenance.

" And it is to be known, that our will is not that this determination should extend to, and be understood of, such persons " of the Scots as were prisoners on this occasion; nor of such as have not submitted to our peace or faith. In witness " whereof, we have caused these our letters patents to be sealed at Westminster, the 15th day of October, in the 33d year " of our reign."

The title of this patent is, *Forma pacis Scotiae*, " The form of the peace of Scotland." *Tyrrel*, vol. iii. fol. 163, 164.

A. D. 1305. that there is somewhat pretty singular in this pardon ; for it is dated the 15th of November, 1305, and contains an indemnification to John Cummin and the archbishop of Glasgow, who thereby must be considered as rebels, even at the time while Edward was in some measure making his court to them, by employing them in forming the above scheme of union.

An oath attended the new regulation of government in Scotland. It is of a very extensive nature, and seems to be calculated equally for the benefit of king and people. It was taken by all the Scotch nobility. It does not appear that this oath was taken by Bruce, nor that, at this time, he was in England. Edward was too great a judge of mankind, not to foresee and dread his prodigious genius. He thought himself superior to Bruce in the gifts of nature, as of fortune. He was mistaken. Bruce knew the meaning of leaving him alone out of the list of commissioners, who were to attend on the part of his country. But this was not the only reason of disgust he had at this time. By the terms of the above-mentioned record, the commissioners had agreed, that he should surrender to Edward the strong castle of Kildrommy, which I conceive, as possessed of the honour of Garrioch, he kept. He knew it was not a proper season then for him to dispute ; but he made good use of the interval : for he now laid the plan of that conduct, which afterwards rendered him the wonder and glory of that age ; and, with free beings, the pattern of military virtue, and true policy to succeeding times. A real friendship had never subsisted between him and Wallace. The latter was the idol of the common people ; and Bruce could never hope, after his own and his family's submissions, to make any figure, as a leading patriot, while that illustrious competitor was alive. But fortune soon delivered him from that perplexity. For Wallace, who never had laid down his arms, was, about this time, infamously betrayed by Edward's Scotch favourite Monteith. He was no sooner seized than sent to London, the English all the way flocking to see him, who had so often filled their country with terror and dismay, as he now did every generous breast with pity and admiration. Being brought to London, he was lodged in Fenchurch-street, and next day conducted to take his trial in Westminster-hall. In derision he was crowned with laurel, and assigned an eminent seat. His indictment, which accused him of treason, being read, he pleaded not guilty ; and that it was absurd to accuse him of treason against a king, whose authority in Scotland he had never owned, and whose government he had ever disputed. It was not easy to get over this objection at that time, when Edward's late regulation with regard to the Scotch government had not yet taken place ; but the judges, upon the principle that Edward was not only the direct, but now natural, lord of Scotland, voted him to die the death of a traitor, which was executed with every circumstance of barbarity. Thus fell a man,

whom every free country must wish to have been its own ; and Edward, in the execution of that sentence, by dispersing the mangled limbs of Wallace through several towns and places, dispersed reproach to his own memory through all climates, and through all ages.

This great rival of Bruce's ambition, or rather glory, being thus removed, that nobleman studied how to bring over Cummin to his interest, and those of his country. He had, at that time, no public post in the government, and his right to the crown was the same as ever that of his grandfather had been ; while Cummin had an invincible obstacle to his ambition in the person of Edward Baliol, the son of John, whom his father's resignation could not, or, as was pretended, did not, affect. It could be wished, for the moral character of Bruce, that he could have carried on the noble views he had meditated, with less perfidy than he was forced to use : but oaths with the Scots of those days, when their country was in question, were rather considered as forms of speaking, than sacraments of obligation. This the most violent of that nation cannot deny, nor the virtuous justify. Had they acted the same gallant, sincere part that Wallace did, they had not been reduced to such a profuse expence, of prostituting whatever ought to be dear to men of honour, even admitting their final intentions to have been virtuous. In short, Cummin found he had no chance to be a king, he therefore thought it wise to secure the next place to royalty. While he and Bruce were under the most binding engagements to Edward, a compromise was entered into, and an indenture drawn, by which Cummin agrees to give Bruce his interest for the crown, and Bruce binds himself to own Cummin as first prince of the blood, and to give him all the private patrimony of the Bruce family. But it is easier for a middling genius to clamber to the summit of a mighty design, than from thence calmly to survey the mighty precipices he has to encounter, and the growing labours of the execution. The brain of Cummin turned ; he grew giddy at the dreadful prospect, which pushed him on to betray his new engagement ; since, if Bruce were removed, he must stand the first in estimation with Edward, and in power with his country. He sent the counter-part of his indenture with Bruce to the court of England, just at the time when that nobleman was setting out for London. He then went to England, and sounded the prelates, who were at Edward's court, upon the design he was forming, and found no discouragement in his application ; but he soon perceived he was beset by guards and spies. He was next ordered not to stir from London ; and Edward, willing to preserve, as much as possible, the appearance of moderation, at last fairly produced the indenture, and demanded whether he knew the hand and seal. It was impossible for quick-eyed jealousy itself to perceive the least variation, prognosticating guilt, in the countenance of the ill-treated Bruce : he

A. D. 1305.

Mutual agreement between Bruce and Cummin.

Bruce betrayed ed.

Sir William Wallace is betrayed by Monteith ;

condemned, executed, and quartered.

A. D. 1305. boldly disclaimed all knowledge of the transaction: he offered, on pain of forfeiting life and fortune, to prove the writing a forgery, with such assurance, that he staggered Edward, who well knew what envy and malice might produce. In this uncertain situation of mind, and while Bruce was not yet a close prisoner, his brother-in-law, the earl of Gloucester, sent him an English shilling and a pair of sharp spurs. The mystical message awakened him to all the sense of immediate danger. He found means, about midnight, to get on horseback, with two servants, and by next morning was out of danger of pursuit. On the seventh day, he came to Lochmaben in Scotland, where he found a few faithful friends, who were privy to his design, assembled. To them he declares his resolution of instantly assuming the crown; and they all agreed, that their safety demanded the blood of Cummin. With this resolution they set out in quest of that unfortunate nobleman, whom they found at his devotions within a church in Dumfries (1). There Bruce, deaf to every call of virtue, and blind to every decency of religion, stabbed him before the altar.

and escapes to Scotland.

Cummin stabbed at the altar in Dumfries.

This detestable, but necessary, action being performed, all the Brucian interest declared themselves in open war against Edward, who thus found all his schemes vain, that the glories of his life might settle in a calm evening of domestic tranquility. Trusting to the execution of the late establishment, he had drawn most of his forces out of Scotland; but these were partly supplied by the flaming resentment of the Cummins, for the death of their leader. They were not, however, able to bring force enough together, to hinder the Bruces from making a vast progress in a short time. The prelates, in ge-

neral, declared in his favour; and they were joined by the unsubmitting party, who had served under Wallace, and who, perhaps, thought that Bruce had sealed his sincerity in the blood of Cummin, since he was afterwards to expect no mercy from England. In short, Bruce was crowned in the abbey of Scone, by the countess of Buchan, sister to the earl of Fife; it having been with the Scots a sacred maxim, That one of that family should put the crown on the head of their kings. Whether the love of her country, or an affection to Bruce, who had a fine person, and was now in the flower of his youth, prevailed with this lady to act the part she did, is uncertain; but we know, that she stole from her husband, who was of the Cummin race, and therefore the sworn enemy of Bruce, that she might perform the ceremony of that coronation.

Edward all this time was not idle. A pope had been lately chosen, who formerly had been archbishop of Bourdeaux, and was entirely in the English interest. With him he prevails to thunder out a sentence of excommunication against Bruce, who, despising it as trumpery, got himself absolved by a private prelate of his own, and thereby satisfied his subjects. Edward next dispatched Emaric de Valence earl of Pembroke, with the lords Robert Clifford and Henry Piercy, at the head of a small army, to encourage and protect the friends of his government in Scotland, while he himself was preparing to support them in person with the whole force of his kingdom.

But the truth is, this defection of the Scots could not have happened at a more unlucky time for Edward. He never had been sincere in his oaths and promises with regard to the disforestations. He had lately revived

(1) Neither the Scotch nor the English historians are to be depended upon with regard to their accounts of the whole of this remarkable affair; but as the Scots had the best opportunities of information, I have inclined to them. It may not be amiss, however, to set down both accounts from Abercromby, who says, That Bruce, finding himself discovered, presently ordered his horses to be shod backward (for the ground was covered with snow, consequently the impression made upon it by the horses feet, if not by this means prevented, might have pointed out to the pursuers the road he had taken) and with only two servants, about midnight, took his journey for Scotland, with a full resolution to take instantly upon him both the title and authority of king. The title he could not so soon get, by reason both of the English garrisons and faction of the Cummins, who, he was now sure, would thwart this design: he was therefore obliged to begin, by extending the royal authority; and did it to its full, if not beyond the utmost, extent, it can be allowed. The seventh night after his departure from London, he arrived at his own castle of Lochmaben in Annandale, where he found his brother Edward Bruce, Robert Fleming, James Lindsay, Roger Kilpatrick, and Thomas Charters, all brave men, and beforehand determined to pursue any measures he (as their lawful sovereign) should set them upon. They had no time to lose, and therefore resolved to go all together in search of John Cummin. As they were upon the road, it was the Bruce's good luck to fall upon a second demonstration of his enemy's treachery, by means of a courier they met with by accident, who had but just then been dispatched with letters to the court of England. They were, by the same means, informed, that he was at Dumfries, and found him at his devotions in the church of the Minorites. Even there the Bruce (because, probably, the guilty Cummin refused to come out of the only sanctuary in which he thought himself secure) upbraided him with his repeated falsehoods, shewed him the letters he had but just then intercepted, and, in the heat of the contest, stabbed him with his dagger; and leaving him almost dead on the spot, went out of the church, and was again going to take horse, when James Lindsay and Roger Kilpatrick (surprized at the change they perceived in his countenance) asked him what he ail'd? He told them what he had done, and for what reasons; adding, That he believed that the Cummin was dead. "What! (replied James Lindsay, with an air of indignation) have you offered to kill him, and have not done it?" With these words he hastily went off, entered the church, and, with repeated blows, put the matter out of doubt. Sir John Cummin younger, of Badenoch, was, by his royal parentage, numerous vasals, great alliances, and opulent fortune, next to the Bruces, the most powerful man in the nation. He had been guardian of the kingdom, and aspired to be king, consequently was not to be offended by half; and it was plain, that as he could never forget the provocation he had given, so, while alive, he would never forgive the resentment he had met with. His cousin, Sir Edward Cummin, and some others belonging to their retinue, were, by the Bruce's followers, at the same time dispatched. This slaughter, of which all Scotch authors give much the same account, was committed on the 10th of February, 1306; but the English relate it less favourably to the actors. They positively declare (and I have not contradicted them, because I believe they are so far in the right) That king Edward was at the pains, as some of the Scots assert, to flatter both the Bruce and Cummin with the hopes of a crown, he had so eagerly sought, and he had now obtained to himself; neither do they tell us any thing of Sir John Cummin's breach of faith to Robert Bruce, but say (what I am confident was not, at the bottom, true) That he was most loyal and faithful to his lately-acknowledged sovereign king Edward, and would by no means comply with any design or attempt against him: That, to find his intentions, the earl of Carrick charged his two brothers, Thomas and Nicl, to desire a meeting with him in the cloister of the Franciscan friars at Dumfries, where, upon conference, the lord Cummin refusing to join with him in the design to make him king, he, in revenge, stabbed him: That Cummin, finding himself wounded, fled out of the cloister to the church for sanctuary; but that one of the Bruce's brothers, and others of his retinue, fearing he should recover, followed thither, and murdered him at the very altar.

A. D. 1306. his prosecution against some of the noblemen who had opposed his measures; and the archbishop of Canterbury having the same charge brought against him that the earl-marshall had before, was obliged to submit to his mercy. This was not enough;

Archbishop of Canterbury suspended.

for Edward having the pope entirely at his devotion, the archbishop was suspended from the exercise of his office, and summoned to appear at Rome. The next favour Edward received from the Romish see was, a gift of the tenth of all ecclesiastical benefices in England for two years, under the specious pretence of a crusade. His holiness, still unwearyed in heaping favours upon Edward and his subjects, next appointed that mighty favourite the bishop of Durham to be patriarch of Jerusalem. And lastly, Edward obtained a bull, absolving him from his late oath with regard to his disforestations. This bull being publicly read, on Easter-day, 1306, caused a general discontent throughout all the kingdom. It put the subjects in mind of his father's days, who used to trifle with oaths, and to shelter himself under absolutions. To quiet them a little, he issued out what is called the ordinance of the forest, intending to prevent several trespasses in forests. This ordinance was at the same time accompanied with a writ, or letter, entered upon the same statute-roll with his ordinance, and of the same date, wherein Edward expresses himself much troubled in mind for the clamours of the people, who, as he there says, were much oppressed, impoverished, and injured by the officers of his forests; and, therefore, desiring to obviate these oppressions and grievances, which he could not pass by without great scandal or offence, and to provide for the peace and tranquility of the kingdom, he had issued out the aforesaid ordinance of the forests. This writ, or letter, was sent into every county of England, with command to the sheriffs to cause them to be read, and the ordinance thus sent with it to be proclaimed in a full county court. But all those arts, which however specious, were in breach of Edward's most solemn engagements, had apparently less influence on the minds of the people, than the insult offered to the dignity of the government, by the murder of Cummin, and the revolt of the Scots. To amuse them, therefore, he resolved to entertain them with a fine shew. He ordered proclamation to be made all over England, for those who had any title to the honour of knighthood, either by heritage or estate, to repair to Westminster by Whit-sunday, there to receive all military ornaments (their horses excepted) from his royal wardrobe. The prince of Wales came under the description of this proclamation, as did the sons of above three hundred of the chief nobility and gentry in England, who had all very fine apparel furnished them by the king. The first received the order of knighthood, which gave him a right to confer the same, as he did, on all the other candidates, in the abbey-church of Westminster. Then putting himself at the head of this gallant train, they all repaired to the

The king issues out a proclamation for all to take the order of knighthood.

royal palace, where the king received them with great complaisance; but, before them all, protested with a solemn vow, that he would in person march against the Scots, to punish their perfidy; at the same time he commanded, with the deepest abjurations, that, if he should die in the expedition, his body should be carried to Scotland, and kept unburied till that race was chastised by some signal defeat. All the company assenting, Edward dismissed them to their several habitations; but with orders that they should meet him fifteen days after Midsummer at Carlisle, with all their military attendants and equipages, to proceed against the Scots.

A. D. 1306.

In the mean time he invested the prince of Wales in the duchy of Aquitain, and made fresh advances, by the mediation of the pope, for strengthening the good understanding between himself and the court of France. In short, nothing was omitted for securing the tranquility of the kingdom during his absence; and the archbishop of York, with the bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, were appointed guardians of the kingdom during his absence in Scotland. But Edward, in the interval, was informed of the good success of his arms under the earl of Pembroke. That nobleman had a commission to receive all into favour who should timeously submit to the English government. This had great effect; and one half of the Scots, led by the Cummins, declared against Bruce, who was then incamped at Methwen, in the county of Perth, secure, as he thought, from any assault; but they were mistaken. The insolence of Edward's officers, and the intelligence which the English general had that he should be superseded by the king himself, made him hearken to the advice of a Scotch gentleman, one Mowbray, to venture a bold stroke for his own honour. This gentleman shewed him how practicable it was to surprise the Brucian army, which was raw and undisciplined. The attack was accordingly formed, the Scots were routed, the bridle of their made king's horse was seized by Mowbray, who called out for help, because he had hold of the Scottish king. But Bruce was rescued by Sir Christopher Seton, and remounted by Simon Fraser, who that day, by the same service, three times saved Bruce's life. In short, Bruce, with the gentlemen about his person, made a noble and gallant defence, till they were all surrounded; and he himself, with but a very few followers, escaped out of the field, and took refuge in the castle of Kintyre, within the shire of Argyle. The prisoners of quality among the Scots were immediately executed as traitors, some few excepted of greater quality, and the shattered remains of the Scotch army, who were not with their king, fled to the mountains.

King Robert  
Bruce defeated  
by the earl of  
Pembroke at  
Methwen.

This battle was fought about Midsummer, and only a few days before Edward arrived with a great army in Scotland. He perceived he came to triumph, and not to conquer. He divided his army into two parts, one of which he sent northward, under the conduct of the prince of Wales, assisted by

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A. D. 1306. the earls of Lancaster and Hereford. These had the good fortune to seize Bruce's castle at Kildrommy, and many of his principal followers, with his queen and sister. After this successful expedition, the prince met his father at Dumfermling or Perth; and, by this time, all Scotland once more submitted to Edward's power. But he was so thoroughly exasperated with the Scots, that no submission could appease his thirst of the blood of those who had resisted. It were endless to recount the number of executions he ordered; nay, his resentment pushed him on to an unmanly fury; for the lady Mary Campbell, sister to Bruce, and the countess of Buchan, whom we have already mentioned, were shut up in wooden cages, and hung over the walls (the one of Roxburgh, and the other of Berwick) as a spectacle for the populace. In the mean time, Bruce, with his party, having with great difficulty kept himself out of the hands of his enemies, especially the lord Lorn, a relation of the Cummin family, was hunted from place to place, and all his little retinue being cut off, he was obliged, with two of his friends, the earl of Lennox and Gilbert Hay, to retire to places where they had no society but with the beasts of the field, and little subsistence but in common with them. He indeed essayed, while he was in this condition, to have conference with the prince of Wales, who durst not agree to it without his father's consent. But Edward was so far from granting that, that he reproached his son with even daring to give the traitor, as he called him, an opportunity of making the least application in his favour. This effort failing, Bruce had the mortifying news, that the two great pillars of his cause, the bishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow, had been taken with arms in the field, and would, like others, have died the death of traitors, had it not been for Edward's respect to their function. But all this news, and the most wretched condition he was reduced to, served only to make Bruce cast about for new resources. Sir Niel Campbell was the third person acquainted with the place of his retreat; and, by his assistance, he got, in the beginning of the winter, to Kintyre, or the Western islands, places inaccessible to all but their inhabitants.

Edward, vainly looking upon Bruce as now dead, was proceeding with extreme severity, not to call it cruelty, against his family and adherents. His wife, who was sister to the earl of Ulster, was sent prisoner to England. His friend, the earl of Athol, was hanged on a gallows at London, fifty feet high. The steward of Scotland was obliged to make his submissions; and the following directions, to the English guardians and justices of Scotland, were published by Edward:

" It was agreed, by the king and his council, that the guardian of Scotland should cause to be proclaimed in all cities, boroughs, and market towns, and in all other places where he thought fit, that all such who were against the king in the

Edward's barbarities to the Scots.

Rymer.

Bruce's hardships and difficulties.

Earl of Athol hanged on a gallows fifty feet high.

" last war, and were not come to his peace, " and others who had committed felonies " and other crimes, for which they ought " to lose life or member, and were not taken, should be apprehended by any persons wherever they came; and to that purpose were to levy hue and cry, with " horn and mouth, and pursue them with force from town to town, and country to country, until they rendered themselves, or were taken, dead or alive: and that those who neglected to do this, should lose all their goods, and be imprisoned during the king's pleasure. The guardian was likewise to enquire after the receivers of such persons, that they might have such justice as they deserved.

" It was then likewise accorded, that all those who were guilty, and abettors of the death of John Cummin, should be drawn and hanged; and those that advised and assented to it, and those who, after the fact, knowingly and willingly, or freely received them, should have the same judgment. And those that were guilty of his death, that were or should be taken by force in this war against the king, should be hanged, or have their heads cut off, and their receivers to have the same judgment.

" And all that were against the king, in the war, at any time, as well before, as in, and after the battle of Methwen, those who were the most notorious and dangerous of them should be put in prison where the king should appoint, and not be released but by his orders.

" And those who willingly were of the party of Robert Bruce, or who were aiding, advising, procuring, or persuading the people to rise, contrary to law, and were thereof convicted, whether clerks or others, should be imprisoned during the king's pleasure.

" And it was ordained, that the people of Scotland, who were forced to rise against the king in this war, should be fined as the guardian should see cause, and according to their offence. And, for the greater authority and execution of this agreement, the king caused it to pass under his seal of Scotland, and bears date at " Lanercost."

Edward had now made his enemy his footstool; nor were his triumphs over the factious in England less memorable than those over the insurrections of the Scots. He had the secret of keeping alive all charges upon former demerits, and of applying them as he saw it convenient. Sir Nicolas Segrave was one of the greatest knights then in England. He had been charged with treasonable practices, and Edward refusing his justifying himself, by combat, with his accuser Sir John Crumwal, he went abroad without the royal licence, that he might be more at liberty to prosecute his revenge. This was looked upon, by Edward, as a high insult upon the royal prerogative; and Segrave, upon his return, was capitally indicted. It is very doubtful upon what law he was committed; but

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but we are certain that the court, after a debate of three days among themselves, returned a kind of a special verdict. They found the fact proved, by which the accused forfeited life, and estate; but they found that he had not left the kingdom in any contempt of the royal authority, but merely on a point of private revenge; so that it was entirely in Edward's power to shew him mercy. The king, very justly, both despised and hated them for this ridiculous sentence. "Has, said he, in a rage, all your debate terminated in this? Is there any instance that ever I denied mercy to those who applied for it? Yes, I know I can shew mercy to whom I please; but I will do it for your sakes, no more than for a dog's: let your judgment, however, be recorded as law." It cannot be denied that this proceeding was a high stretch of the feudal prerogative; but Edward meant it only for terror: for though Segrave was cast into prison, yet he was soon after bailed out for appearance by thirty of his peers. We meet with no farther civil transactions which could give Edward any uneasiness this year; and, before he left Scotland, he ordered a parliament to be summoned, to sit at Carlisle in the following January. In this interval numbers of Bruce's followers were taken, and sent prisoners into England, where they were committed to different castles, as appears by

a writ published by Mr. Rymer, where Edward is very particular with regard to the place and manner in which each prisoner should be kept. The household of Bruce's wife, in particular, is very minutely regulated. She was allowed, to attend upon her as servants, two grave women, not gay, but middle-aged ; two valets, who were to be of the same character ; and a sober, quiet foot-boy, to make her bed, and to do other necessary things about her room ; and a butler for carrying her keys, and taking care of her poultry ; with three huntsmen for her diversion, with the best house of the manor to live in, and venison and fish at her will. I have been the more particular in this, that the reader may have some idea of the oeconomy of those days. He likewise made a gift of all Baliol's English estate in favour of the earl of Britanny, and applied to the pope to have the abbey of Scone, because placed in the heart of a perverse nation, translated to some more convenient place.

But he was not all this time without infinite disquiets on account of Bruce. At first, all that prince's safety lay in his being thought too weak for annoyance, or to have perished for want. For some time he lay concealed in the isle of Raughrine ; from thence he sent Sir James Douglas and Sir Robert Boyd to acquaint his friends of the continent of Scotland that he was still alive ; and these arming, he secretly put himself at their head, and cut off a convoy of provisions designed for an English court in that country. His naked, half-armed followers, by this accident, being equipped with arms, and stored with provisions, he attacked the castle

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ibid.

The earl of  
Britanny ob-  
tains John Ba-  
liol's English  
estates.

King Robert  
Bruce leaves  
his retirement  
in the High-  
lands,  
and his pro-  
gress.

of Turnberry, which he took; and obliged the lord Henry Piercy, who commanded for Edward in those parts, to retire towards England. All this was effected by no more than four hundred men, but at a seafon too advanced in the year for Edward to check his progress.

He was then at Carlisle, where he ordered King Robert  
Thomas and Alexander, two of Bruce's bro- Bruce's two  
ther's, who were taken in an attempt to in- brothers exe-  
vade Galloway, to be executed. But the cuted.  
affairs of Scotland began again to be so State of the  
cloudy; that little or nothing was done in English affairs  
the professed purpose of assembling the par- in Scotland;  
liament; I mean the establishment and set-  
tlement of that kingdom. Edward, with  
all the policy he was master of, found one  
of the finest schemes that ever was laid, dis-  
concerted and destroyed by a handful of  
wretches, miserable in all respects that can  
make life desirable; excepting their love ei-  
ther for liberty or revenge. This was the  
motive which made Bruce, at that time,  
while he fed and lodged without society of  
human kind; without any sustenance but  
what the uncultivated soil or bleak rocks af-  
forded, more glorious than other monarchs;  
in all their flaming pomp of state. It was  
impossible for Edward to pluck this excru-  
ciating thorn out of his side; it preyed  
upon his vitals; the pain it gave him daily  
increased. The circumstances of Scotland  
were much altered from the time he had laid  
down the last scheme of its establishment: se-  
verity and lenity had been equally ineffectual;  
and neither power nor policy had extinguis-  
hed the spark, which ever lives in minds who  
fear death less than dependance: In vain  
was every corner of the two kingdoms filled  
with sanguinary executions; or dreadful im-  
prisonments. The shackled bodies and man-  
gled limbs of the Scots, inspired the unsubmit-  
ting party with rage, instead of dread; and,  
late as the season was, Edward was obliged  
to order the earl of Pembroke, with the lord  
Lorn, at the head of a body of men, hardy  
as were his enemies, to advance in search of  
the Bruçian party.

Though Edward, at this time, appeared at Carlisle, in the highest point of dignity that a sovereign of England knows, at the head of his parliament; yet he now met with an affliction in his own family, which gave him a farther proof that happiness seldom follows greatness. He saw, with parental concern, the dissolute courses of his son, the prince of Wales, who was entirely guided by Pierce Gaveston, his young Gascon favourite. He had several times endeavoured, in vain, to reclaim him, sometimes by gentle admonitions, sometimes by punishments favouring of severity; but at last, a fresh insult being offered to the bishop of Chester; it was resolved to proceed legally against the dangerous favourite. It was therefore adjudged by the king, as appears by a record still extant in the tower, that Pierce de Gaveston should, by May-day, 1307, take shipping at Dover, to go to Gascony, never to return into England without the

A. D. 1307.

king's leave or command. Edward, at the same time, ordered him a pension of a hundred merks sterling a year, on condition that he and the prince should solemnly swear to observe this sentence. And they gave their oaths accordingly.

Edward makes settlements upon his younger children.

An embassador from the pope,

to settle all differences between the courts of France and England.

Edward having thus provided for the morals of his eldest son, did the same for the subsistence of his younger children. Upon his son Thomas he settled ten thousand merks, and six thousand upon his son Edmund. His daughter Eleanor had likewise ten thousand merks for her portion, and five thousand for cloaths. But, during the session of this parliament at Carlisle, the cardinal de St. Sabine came to Edward, on the part of the pope, to press the consummation of the long-depend ing marriage between the prince of Wales and the princess of France. Some discourse had revived about the affairs of the Holy Land, which made this pope the more zealous that all differences should be terminated between the courts of France and England. He had a plausible pretext for intermeddling in this matter, by pressing the execution of the treaty made under the award of his predecessor. But Edward, either justly offended with Philip, or finding such a compliance inconvenient at that juncture, declined going in person to pay his homage at Amiens, as he was obliged to do, by his treaty with France, upon the evacuation of Gascony by the French. The reason he gave was, because that the castle of Malignon, a Gascon fee, was still detained by a lord to whom Philip had granted it. He was, however, much more tractable on the article of the marriage; and the cardinal thinking that to be the main point, or seeing that the state of Edward's affairs would not permit him to comply with the other terms of the treaty, set out for London, there to receive an answer to the dispatches he had sent to the court of France. He was followed by the prince of Wales, who had orders from his father, that, if those answers were favourable, he should immediately pass over to France, to celebrate his marriage.

Edward, all this while, was impatiently waiting the result of the earl of Pembroke and lord Lorn's expedition against Bruce. Both those noblemen had defeated that prince the year before. Bruce had a genius which had learned to improve under affliction, and to rise greater from defeat. Perceiving that the enemy's forces were far superior to his, he intrenched himself on the brow of a hill; but it was not long before he saw the Highlanders, under the lord Lorn, taking a compass, by which he would be soon surrounded and cut off. He instantly divided his army into three parts, he ordered them to march several ways, but all of them to rendezvous, by a certain time, in the wood of Glentroule, near Cumnock. This retreat being happily performed, Bruce's army received considerable increase, by the accession of new friends, and he obtained several advantages; but his whole force did not yet amount to a thousand men. With these, how-

ever, he knew so well to chuse his ground, and watch his opportunity, that he gave a defeat to the earl of Pembroke; and attacked a party under the earl of Gloucester so resolutely, that, after a bloody dispute, this nobleman was obliged to shut himself up in the castle of Ayre, till he was relieved by Edward. These successes raised the Scots from despair; the contagion of a free spirit flew from breast to breast; and Bruce, in a short time, found himself at the head of some thousands. A dangerous, because a desperate, foe!

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Bruce defeats the earls of Pembroke and Gloucester.

It was now Easter in 1307, and Edward was in daily expectation of his forces, whom he had commanded to assemble at Carlisle three weeks after Midsummer. Some of them already had arrived, and those he sent to raise the siege of Ayre, and to deliver the earl of Gloucester. It would have been madness for Bruce to have weakened his army, by continuing this siege, or venturing a battle; though conqueror, he knew he must suffer, as he understood that Edward was preparing to set out; he therefore prudently drew off his troops, in reserve for a safer station, and better times.

But the period of the great Edward's life was now drawing near. He was in the sixtieth year of his age; a time when death may alarm, but ought not to surprize. He was, at first, seized with a flux, or dysentery; and though his case was desperate, yet his spirit was more violent than his disease. His army being fully assembled, he set out, thc unable to march above two miles a day. When he came to a place called Burgh upon the Sands, he found nature too weak to proceed. He went to bed, and his spiritual monitors attended. His dying ejaculations, if we may believe cotemporary authors, were worthy a king and a Christian: "O Lord, " said he, if thou thinkest it good for these " thy people to have me here continue " longer with them, I am ready to venture " my life for them; but, if otherwise, thy " will be done." On the 7th of July, af- King Edward dies at Burgh upon the Sands, See p. 884.

ter a reign of thirty-four years, seven months, and six days, while his servants were raising him that he might take some nourishment, he expired. I have already described Edward, as a man; the history of his reign is the best description of him, as a king. Where benefits are visible, when they are felt by posterity, it is ungrateful in them to enquire into motives. Under Edward the English constitution and civil polity was regenerated from the pollutions contracted under former reigns. It was he who repaired, enlarged, and strengthened the laws of England. Under him, that is, in less than five-and-thirty years, they acquired a greater degree of perfection from the state in which he found them, than perhaps they have since done from that state in which he left them. The excellent schemes of distributive justice made penal laws less necessary: these, for the most part, were inventions of weaker governments. By him the overgrown power of the pope and clergy was reduced; but the decent cher- rished.

A. D. 1307. rished. The bounds of inferior courts were settled, and the ordinary course of justice received very few interruptions from the interposition of prerogative. By him all the absurdities and hardships of law, under which the subject groaned, were abolished or explained; and there is a peculiar perspicuity,

A. D. 1307. both in the pleadings and laws of his reign, which no age since has equalled. As to the particulars, they cannot be better explained than in the words of the lord chief justice Hales, which the reader will find in the notes, and, though long, cannot but please (1).

King Edward was twice married, as we Speed. have

(1) Having given you as brief an abridgment as I could of the most considerable statutes of this king's reign, that are now in force, either for altering or interpreting the common law where it was doubtful, I shall now, from the sixth chapter of the manuscript treatise of the late learned lord chief justice Hales (entitled, his *History and Analysis of the Laws of England*) proceed to give you the grounds and reasons of making several of them, with a brief view of the whole body of the law, as it stood at that time; and an account, likewise, of the manner and forms of pleadings then in use. King Edward I. may be truly styled our English Justinian; for, in his reign, the laws attained a very great perfection; the pleadings short indeed, but excellently good and perspicuous: and although, for a time, some of those ancient imperfections and inconvenient rules still obtained, as for example, in point of descent, where the middle brother held of the eldest, and died without issue, it descended to the youngest, upon the pretence of that old rule in the time of Henry II. *Nemo potest esse dominus et heres*, and is more than once mentioned by Glanville; yet the laws never, in any one age since his time, have received so sudden and great an advancement; nay, I think I may safely say, that all the ages since his time have not done so much in reference to the orderly settling and establishing of the distributive justice of this kingdom, as he did within the short compass of the thirty-five years of his reign, especially about the first thirteen years thereof. Indeed, many penal and provisional statutes, in relation to the peace and good government of this kingdom, have been since made; but as to the administration of common justice between party and party, and the accommodating of the rules, and also of the methods and orders of proceeding, he did the most of any king since the conquest; and left the same as a stable, fixed rule and order of proceeding, very little differing from what we have now, I mean, as to the main substance and principal contexture thereof: I shall therefore give you some short observations touching the same.

I. He perfectly settled the great charter, and charter of the forests, not only by a practice consonant to them, but also by that solemn act (25 Edward I.) styled, *Confirmations cartarum*.

II. He established and distributed the several jurisdictions of courts within their proper bounds; and because this has several heads, I shall subdivide it, though not precisely following the order of time.

1. He checked the encroachments and insolence of the pope, and papal clergy, by the famous statute of Carlisle.

2. He declared the limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, by the statutes, *Circumspecte agatis*, and *Articuli cleri*; the latter of which, though published in the time of Edward II, yet was compiled in the beginning of this king's reign.

3. He perfectly established the limits of the courts of Common-pleas, putting in use that article of *Magna Charta*, *Communia placita non sequantur curiam nostram*; and, in express terms, extending that law to the court of Exchequer, by the statute of *Articuli super cartas*, cap. 4.

4. He established the extent of the jurisdiction of the steward and marshal; vid. *Articuli super cartas*, cap. 3.

5. He settled the bounds of the inferior courts, not only of counties, hundreds, and court-barons; but all other, which he kept within their proper and narrower bounds; and so, gradually, the common justice of the kingdom came to be administered by men knowing in them, and sitting in the great courts of King's-bench and Common-pleas; and also before justices itinerant; as also by that excellent statute of Westminster 1, cap. 35. Besides this, he kept the courts of great men within their due limits, under several penalties, wherein ordinarily very great encroachments and oppressions were exercised. The third general head that I observe is, That he did not only explain, but excellently well enforce, the statute of *Magna Charta*, by that, *De tallagio non concedendo*, made 25 Edward I; notwithstanding, it is placed without any certain year in our printed statute books.

6. He provided against the interruption of the common justice of the kingdom, by mandates under the great or privy seal, by the statute of *Articuli super cartas*, cap. 6. which, notwithstanding the statute of *Magna Charta*, cap. 29. were formerly too frequently in use.

7. He settled the forms, solemnity, and efficacy of fines; confining them to the courts of Common-pleas, and justices itinerant, whose records, in ancient times, were commonly removed to the King's-bench, after their circuits ended, whereby one common repository for the great assurances of lands might be kept; which he did by the statute of 18 Edward I. *De modo levandi fines*.

8. He settled that great and orderly method for the safety and preservation of the peace of the kingdom, and repressing of robberies, by the statute of Winton.

9. He settled the method of tenures, to prevent multiplicity of mesualities, which grew to a great inconveniency, and was remedied by the statute of *Quia emptores terrarum*.

10. He settled a speedier way for recovery of debts, not only for merchants and tradesmen, by the statute of Acton-Burnel, and *De mercatoribus*; but also of other persons, by granting an execution of the moiety of debtor's lands, by elegit.

11. He ordered an effectual process for the recovering advowsons and presentations to churches, which was formerly extremely lame and defective, by the statute of Westminster 2, cap. 1.

12. He made that great alteration in estates from what they were formerly, by the statute of Westminster 2, cap. 1. whereby the estates of fee-simple conditional, at the common law, were turned into estates-tail, not removeable from the issue, according to the ordinary methods of alienation; and upon this statute, and in order to the qualifications thereof, are the superstructures of those statutes I have now mentioned.

13. He introduced a quite new method in the laws concerning Wales, and in that of their administration, by the statute of Rothland.

14. In short, partly by the learning and experience of his judges, and his own wise interposition, he silently, and without noise, abrogated many evil and inconvenient usages, both in the courts of justice at Westminster, and in the country. He also rectified and set in order the present method of collecting his revenues into the Exchequer, and removed the obsolete and burthensome parts thereof out of charge; and by the statutes of Westminster 1. and Westminster 2, as also of Gloucester, Westminster 3, and *Articuli super cartas*; whereby he removed almost all that was grievous or unpracticable out of the law and the courts where it was administered, and substituted such apt, short, but effectual, remedies and provisions, as, by the length of time, and the experience of their convenience, have stood ever since, without any great alteration; and being incorporated with, became, in a manner, part of the common law itself: so that the very scheme and model of the common law, especially in relation to the administration of common justice between party and party, as it was highly rectified, and put in a much better order than his predecessors left to him; so the measure which we are to take for the true stating the law of England, as to what it now is, ought to be taken and estimated by what it was when the king left it. Before his time it was rude and unpolished, in comparison of what it was after its reduction; and as it was thus polished by him, so it hath hitherto continued the same, without any great or considerable alteration, abating some additions succeeding times have made, which are for the most part in the subject matters of the law, and not so much in its rules and ways of administration. And as to the repositories where those may be found, they are as follow:

I. Acts of parliament in the time of this king, full of excellent wisdom, perspicuity, and yet brevity, &c.

II. The judicial records in the time of this king: I shall only mention the rolls of judicial proceedings in the King's-bench, Common-pleas, and Eyre; and these written, for the most part, in an excellent hand; the pleadings very short, but perspicuous, and clearly and orderly digested, representing effectually the business they intend.

III. The rule and reason of the law, according to which they proceeded (which is many times expressly delivered upon the record itself) very clear and rational; so that their short, pithy pleadings and judgments do far better render the sense of the business, and the reason of it, than the long, intricate, formal pleadings, that are often unnecessarily used in later times.

IV. Of the terms and years of this king's time, only a few broken cases remain, and are reported and collected by Fitzherbert; but we have no successive terms and years of this king's reign, except some few ancient manuscript ones, though not running through the whole time of this king; but what remain, are very good and brief. The judges then spake leis, or the reporters were not so ready-handed as to take all they said. Hence their brevity makes them the more obscure. But yet,

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have already seen; first, to Eleanor, sister to Alphonso king of Castile, daughter to king Ferdinand III, and only child of Joan his second wife, daughter and heir of John earl of Ponthieu. She was married to him at Bures in Spain, in the thirty-ninth year of king Henry his father, 1254. She was crowned with him the day of his coronation, and living his wife, in lovely participation of all his troubles and long voyages, thirty-six years, died at Herdeby in Lincolnshire, the 29th of November, and of her husband's reign the nineteenth, A. D. 1290. She was buried at Westminster, at the feet of king Henry III, under a fair marble tomb, adorned with her portraiture of copper, gilt; other costly ornaments of her husband's love being in every place erected where the hearse rested, as it was conveyed from Herdeby to Westminster.

Margaret, his second wife (being sister of Philip IV, surnamed the Fair, king of France, and eldest daughter of king Philip the Hardy, son of St. Lewis) was married unto him at Canterbury, on Thursday the 8th of September, of her husband's reign 27, A. D. 1299. After almost eight years marriage, surviving him, she remained a widow ten years, and deceasing the 10th of Edward II, A. D. 1317, was buried at the Grey-friars in London, before the altar, in the choir, which herself had built.

His issue were as follow:

John, the eldest son of king Edward and queen Eleanor, was born at Windsor, in the reign of king Henry his grandfather, before his father's voyage into Syria; and, in his absence, was committed to the charge of Richard king of the Romans, his great uncle, and others, who procured principal men of every hundred in each county within the realm, to swear their fealty to his father and him; but he died shortly after, being a child, and was buried at Westminster, by the wall between St. Edmund's and St. Bennet's chapel, the 8th of August, in the last year of his grandfather king Henry's reign. There is remaining over him a tomb of marble inlaid, with his picture in an arch over it.

Henry, the second son of king Edward and queen Eleanor, deceased also being a child; the news of whose death was brought to his father, being then in the isle of Sicily, in his return from the Holy Land, not long before the report of his own father's death (king Henry) came to his knowledge. He was buried in St. Peter's church at Westminster, the 20th of November, in the first year of his father's reign, A. D. 1272, in the same place, and under the same tomb, where his brother John lies; with his picture also in the arch above it.

yet, in those decisions, and brief interlocutions, between the judges and the pleaders, there appears a great deal of learning and judgment. There are some of those reports in the library of Lincoln's-Inn, and are reckoned among the best of that kind.

V. The law tracts which were written in the time of this wise and excellent prince, seem to be of two kinds, viz. such as were but only the works of private persons, and had not any great authority, but yet contain much of the law then in use, such were Fleta, the Mirror of Justices, Britton, and Thornton; or else they are sums or abstracts of some particular parts of the law, as Novæ Narrationes, Magna Hengham, Parva Hengham, Assiza de Bastardia, &c. By all which, compared with Bracton, there shall appear a growth and perfecting of the law into a greater regularity and order. And thus much may serve for the several periods of the growth of the common law, until the time of Edward II. inclusively.

Alphonso, the third son of Edward and queen Eleanor, was born at the town of Maine in Gascony, as his father and mother were in their return towards England from Jerusalem, the 23d of November, in the second year of his father's reign, 1273. He deceased at Windsor, the 4th of August, in the twelfth year of his age, 1285; and was buried at Westminster, in St. Peter's church, by St. Bennet's chapel, where his body lieth, under the tomb of his brothers John and Henry, his image also there portrayed with theirs.

Edward, the fourth son of king Edward and queen Eleanor, was born the 25th of April, in the 13th of his father's reign, 1284, at Caernarvon in North Wales; and was, after the death of Llewellyn ap Griffith, in regard of the place of his nativity, by his father's creation, with the consent of the Welsh, made prince of Wales; the first of the sons and heirs apparent of the kings of England that bore that title, which afterward became ordinary to most of the rest. He was also earl of Ponthieu and Chester; and being made knight by his father at London, on Whitsuntide, in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, 1306, succeeded him the same year in the kingdom of England and Wales.

Eleanor, the eldest daughter of king Edward and queen Eleanor, was born at Windsor, in the fiftieth year of the reign of her grandfather king Henry. She was married, with all ceremonies of proxy, to a deputy for Alphonso king of Arragon, son of king Peter, who deceased A. D. 1292, before the solemnization of marriage, leaving his kingdom to his brother James, and his new wife to another husband, who was married at Bristol, in the twenty-second year of her father's reign, 1293, to Henry III. earl of Barr, whose earldom lay in the east borders of Champaign in France. She had issue by him, Edward earl of Barr, from whom descended the earls and dukes of that country, whose inheritance, by heirs general, devolved to the kings of Arragon, and from them again to the dukes of Anjou, that were kings of Sicily. Henry, another son of hers, was bishop of Trayes in Champaign. Helen, her daughter, was married to Henry earl of Blois; and Joan, to John Warren earl of Surrey. She was his wife five years, and deceased the twenty-seventh of her father's reign, A. D. 1298.

Joan, the second daughter of king Edward and queen Eleanor, was born in the first year of her father's reign, at a city in the Holy Land, sometime named Ptolomais, commonly called Acon and Acres, where her mother remained during the wars that her father had with the Saracens. She was, at eighteen years of age, married to Gilbert Clare (called the Red) earl of Gloucester and

A. D. 1307. Hereford, by whom she had issue, earl Gilbert, slain in Scotland, without issue: Eleanor, married first to Hugh Spencer (in her right, earl of Gloucester) and after to William Zouch of Richard's castle: Margaret, first married to Peter Gaveston earl of Cornwall, after to Hugh Andely earl also of Gloucester: and Elizabeth, lady of Clare, married first to John, son and heir to Richard Burgh, earl of Ulster in Ireland, mother of William Burgh earl of Ulster, and grandmother of Elizabeth duchess of Clarence; secondly, to Theobald lord Verdon; and lastly, to Sir Roger Damary. This Joan survived her husband, and was re-married to Sir Ralph Monthermere, a baron, father to Margaret, the mother of Thomas Montacute earl of Salisbury, of whom the now viscount Montacute is descended. She lived thirty-eight years, and deceased in the first year of her brother king Edward's reign, and is buried at the friar Austines in Clare.

Margaret, the third daughter of king Edward and queen Eleanor, was born at the castle of Windsor, in the third year of her father's reign, and of our Lord 1275. When she was fifteen years of age, she was married at Westminster, the 9th of July, in the eighteenth year of her father's reign, A. D. 1290, to John, the second duke of Brabant, by whom she had issue, duke John III, father of Margaret, wife of Lewis of Mechlin earl of Flanders, and mother of the lady Margaret, the heir of Brabant and Flanders, who was married to Philip duke of Burgundy.

Berengera, the fourth daughter of king Edward and queen Eleanor, was born the fourth of her father's reign, A. D. 1276, as John Euersden, monk of St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk, hath recorded in his book of annals; but other mention there is none, but only from him; whereby it is likely that she did not live to be married, but that she died in her childhood.

Alice, the fifth daughter of king Edward and queen Eleanor, is, by Thomas Pickering, of the monastery of Whitby (who wrote the large genealogy of the kings of England, and their issue) reported to have deceased without issue.

Mary, the sixth daughter of king Edward and queen Eleanor, was born at Windsor, the 22d of April, in the eighth year of her father's reign, 1279; and, at ten years of age, A. D. 1289, September the 8th, she was made a nun in the monastery of Ambresbury in Wiltshire, at the instance of queen Eleanor her grandmother, who, at that time, lived there in the habit of the same profession, although her parents were hardly induced to yield their consents to that course.

Elizabeth, the seventh daughter of king Edward and queen Eleanor, was born in the castle of Ruthland in Flintshire, in the 13th year of her father's reign, A. D. 1284. When she was fourteen years of age, she was married at London to John, the first of that name, earl of Holland, Zealand, and lord of Friesland, who died, within two

years after without issue; and she was remarried to Humphrey Bohun earl of Hertford and Essex, lord of Bricknock, and high-constable of England, by whom she had issue John and Humphry (both earls successively after their father) Edward, that died in Scotland without issue, and William, who being created earl of Northampton while his brothers lived, after their decease, was also earl of Hertford and Essex, lord of Brecknock, and high-constable of England, and father of earl Humphry, the tenth of that name, and last of that house, who died without issue male. She had also by him two daughters, Eleanor married to James Butler earl of Ormond, and Margaret to Hugh Courtney, the first earl of Devonshire. She was this earl's wife fourteen years, lived thirty-three, deceased on the ninth year of the reign of king Edward, her brother, A. D. 1316, and was buried in the church of St. James, at the abbey of Saffron-Walden in Essex.

Beatrice, the eighth daughter of king Edward and queen Eleanor, bore the name of Beatrice duchess of Britanny, her father's sister. She is, by some genealogists, mentioned to have lived till she was marriageable; but yet, no mention being made of her match, it seems she died unmarried.

Blanch, the ninth daughter of king Edward, and the last of queen Eleanor, is so mentioned by Thomas Pickering, and some others; but not at all by Thomas Elraham, who made a pedigree of the kings of England: but she is, by the rest, reported to have died in her childhood.

Thomas, the fifth son of king Edward, and the first of queen Margaret, his second wife, was born at a little village in Yorkshire, called Brotherton, June the 1st, in the twenty-ninth year of his father's reign, A. D. 1300. He was created earl of Norfolk and earl-marshal of England, which earldoms the last earl, Roger Bigod, leaving no issue, left to the disposition of the king. He had two wives, of which the first was Alice, the daughter of Sir Roger Hales, of Harwich in Suffolk, by whom he had issue, Edward, who married Beatrice, the daughter of Roger Mortimer, the first earl of March; but he died before his father, without issue. And two daughters, Margaret, twice married, first to John lord Segrave, by whom she had Elizabeth duchess of Norfolk, wife of John lord Mowbray, from whom the Mowbrays, and Howards, dukes of Norfolk, and earls marshal descended. Secondly to Sir Walter Manny, a knight of Cambray, and by him had Anne, wife of John Hastings the elder, earl of Pembroke, and mother of earl John the younger, that died without issue. His youngest daughter, Alice, was married to Sir Edward Montacute, and had by him three daughters, Elizabeth and Joan married to Walter and William, two of the Uffords, and Maud, that died unmarried. The second wife of this earl Thomas was, Mary, the daughter of William lord Rof, and widow of Sir Ralph Cobham; who surviving him, without issue

A. D. 1307. by him, she was married the third time to William lord Breroose, of Brember.

Edmund, the sixth son of king Edward, and second by queen Margaret, was born at Woodstock in Oxfordshire, the 5th of August, in the 30th year of the reign of his father, A. D. 1301. He was created earl of Kent, and married Margaret daughter of John, and sister and sole heir of Thomas lord Wakes, of Lydel, in the county of Northampton. By her he had issue, two sons, and one daughter. Edmund, his eldest son, was earl of Kent after his father, and died under age, without wife or issue. John, the younger was earl also, after his brother. He married Elizabeth, the daughter of the earl of Gulike, and died likewise without issue. His daughter was Joan (for her beauty called the Fair Maid of Kent) first married to William Montacute earl of Salisbury; and

from him divorced, and rematried to Sir Thomas Holland, in her right, earl of Kent, and, by her, father of Thomas and John Holland, duke of Surrey, and earl of Huntingdon. And lastly, she was the wife of Edward of Woodstock, the black prince of Wales, and, by him, mother of king Richard II. This earl Edmund was beheaded at Winchester the 19th of March, in the fourth year of king Edward his nephew.

Eleanor, the tenth daughter, and sixteenth child of king Edward, and last child of queen Margaret, his second wife, was born at Winchester the 6th of May, in the thirty-fifth and last year of her father's reign, A. D. 1306. She deceased in her childhood, and was buried in St. Peter's church in Westminster, by her brothers John, Henry, and Alphonso, under the monument before named, with her picture over it (1).

(1) Taxes in this king's reign.

In the fourth year of his reign, A. D. 1276, the king, in parliament, had a fifteenth granted him by the earls, barons, great men, and community of the kingdom; and, by the archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans, a subsidy of their goods (not said how much) as a free gift only, not to be urged or drawn into example.

In the fifth of his reign, the laity gave him a twelfth part of their goods, towards carrying on the war in Wales.

In the eleventh of his reign, again, towards the war against the Welsh, the laity gave him a thirtieth, and the clergy a twentieth, part of their goods.

In the eighteenth of his reign, he had a fifteenth of all their moveable goods granted by the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, and all others of the kingdom or government, as appears by the Chequer-roll in the nineteenth of Edward I, with the king's Remembrancer.

In the twenty-second of his reign, the prelates and clergy granted the moiety, or half, of their benefices and goods to be taken; one third, at the feast of All-saints next coming; a second third-part, fifteen days after Easter; and the last third-part, fifteen days after St. John Baptist then next coming.

In the same year, at a parliament, or great council, holden on the 12th of November at Westminster, when four knights were summoned from every county to consult, and consent to such things as the earls, barons, and great men should ordain, for themselves and the communities of the counties; upon the same day they met, viz. the 12th of November, and they gave the king a tenth part of all their moveable goods, &c. as appears by the writ or commission, appointing the assessors, taxors, and collectors for the same tenth. And, in the same month, after the 16th day thereof, the guardian, sheriffs, aldermen, and whole community of the city of London, granted a sixth part of their moveable goods, as a subsidy towards his war. The writ or commission, by which the taxors or collectors were appointed, bears date the 26th of November, 23 Edw. I.

In the same month, and about the same time of it, there were commissioners appointed to ask, require, and effectually induce, in person, the men of all his demesne cities and towns, in all the counties of England, by all ways they should see expedient, to grant a sixth part, as London had done, that it might shew example to others of his demesne towns.

A parliament was summoned to meet, the Sunday after St. Martin, or 11th of November; the writ bears date the 3d day of October; however, it met not then, but was prorogued, before meeting, to the Sunday before St. Andrew, or 30th of November, by a writ dated the 2d of November at Odimer. The clergy, in this parliament, gave the king a tenth; the earls, barons, knights, and others of the kingdom, gave an eleventh; and the citizens and burgesses, and other good men of his demesnes, gave him a seventh of their moveable goods: and the warrant for the appointment of the taxors or collectors, bears date the 4th of December.

In the twenty-fourth of his reign, the earls, barons, knights, and others of the kingdom, gave a twelfth part; the citizens, burgesses, and tenants of his demesnes, gave an eighth part. The clergy gave nothing, by reason of an inhibition the archbishop had obtained from pope Boniface; which inhibition, or bull, he caused to be published, at this time, in all the cathedrals.

In his twenty-fifth year, he had an eighth of all the laity, and a tenth of all the clergy, for the confirmation of the great charter and the charter of forests. Walsingham, in his history, says, the laity gave a ninth (which agrees not with the close roll, which says, an eighth) the clergy of the province of Canterbury gave a tenth, and the clergy of the province of York a fifth.

In the twenty-ninth of his reign, upon his confirmation of the perambulations of forests, the laity gave him a fifteenth of their moveables; in the parliament held at London; which they should have at Michaelmas then next coming. Robert archbishop of Canterbury would grant nothing for the clergy, without the special licence of the pope.

In the thirty-second of his reign, he being then in Scotland, as appears by the dates of the commissions at Dumfermling and Stirling, to several commissioners, to tax, taliate, or assess tallage on cities, boroughs, and on his demesnes in cities, and boroughs, either capitation by poll, or in common, according to their faculties and wealth, as it might turn most to his advantage.

In the thirty-third year, the king having summoned a parliament at Westminster, to raise money for the war against the Scots, there was given him, by the clergy, nobility, and knights of the shires, the thirtieth penny of all their moveable goods; and, at the same time, the citizens and burgesses gave a twentieth part of the same estates. In this parliament, also, the archbishops, bishops, prelates, earls, barons, and other tenants of his demesnes, petitioned that they might have leave to talliate their tenants of the same demesnes, as he had talliated them; and it was granted. About this time he had a fifteenth granted him in parliament.

In the thirty-fourth year, the king, intending to knight his eldest son, summoned the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, and other great men, to be before him and his council, on the morrow of Holy Trinity, to treat of, and grant, an aid upon that occasion. He also sent to all the sheriffs of England, to cause to come before him and his council two knights of every county, and of every city two citizens, and of every borough one or two burgesses, as the borough was greater or less, &c. These same prelates, earls, barons, and other great men, and also the knights of shires, treating deliberately upon this matter, and considering there was an aid due as aforesaid, and that many burdens were incumbent upon the king, by reason of his war in Scotland, unanimously granted to the king, for themselves and the whole community of the kingdom, a thirtieth part of all their temporal moveable goods, &c. for a competent aid toward the knighthood of his son, and also for an aid towards his expences which he was to be at in the war. Also the citizens and burgesses of cities and boroughs, and others of the king's demesnes, assembling together, and treating about the premisses, considering the burdens incumbent upon the king, &c. unanimously granted unto him, for the causes aforesaid, a twentieth part of their moveable goods.

Remarkable occurrences in this king's reign.

In the third year of his reign, a general earthquake happened in England; it threw down St. Michael's church, on the hill without Glastenbury in Somersetshire: it also rained blood in Wales. [Matt. Westminster.] In his sixteenth year, the same author writes, that as the king and queen were talking together in their bed-chamber, a flash of lightning struck in at the window, passed by them, killed two of their servants who were waiting upon them, but did them no prejudice. In the following year, there was so great plenty, that wheat was sold in some places at twelve-pence a quarter; and not many years after for twenty shillings a bushel, as much as four pounds now.

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Edgar, king of Scotland, and brother-in-law to king Henry I, his death, 438.  
Edgbert, king of Northumberland, takes Kine-wulf prisoner to Bamborough, takes Kyle from the Picts, and his alliance courted by Pepin king of France, 152. Turns monk, and resigns his crown to his son Osulph, 153.  
Edgitha, natural daughter to king Edgar, was abbess of Wilton, her smart reply to a bishop, 251.  
Edilbert, prince of Kent, taken prisoner by Cenulf king of Mercia, but is released at the dedication of the church of Winchelcomb; his death uncertain, 131.  
Edilfrid, king of Northumberland, defeats Aydan at Degasstan, 143. Kills 1250 monks of Bangor, and destroys their monastery, 144. Is defeated by three British generals, and his jealousy of prince Edwin, 145. Is killed in battle, 146.  
Edinburgh castle delivered to king Henry II. by William king of Scots, 546. Restored again as a dowry with Ermengarda de Beaumont, 560. Where queen Margaret was confined by her guardians, but released by the earl of Gloucester, 769. Surrendered to king Edward I, 923.  
Editha, daughter of earl Godwin, married to Edward the Confessor, her character, 298. Stripped of her jewels, and shut up in the monastery of Werwell, 302. But is reinstated in her former dignity, 303.  
Edmund the Martyr, anointed king of East-Angles by bishop Hunberg, 203. Makes a convention with Inguar and Huba, 206. Is killed by the Danes, 208.  
Edmund I. succeeds his father Athelstan, 241. Concludes a peace with Anlaff, conquers Cumberland from the Danes, which he restores to the king of Scots, on condition of fealty, 242. Is murdered, his character, 243.  
Edmund Ironside, king, marries Algitha, the widow of Sigeferd, and opposes the designs of Edric, 270. Is chosen king by the assembly of the states, and fights against Canute at Sceorstan, 273. Imposed upon, and betrayed by the traitor Edric; defeats the Danes at Brentford, and fights Canute at Ashdown, 274. Challenges Canute to a single combat, and divides the kingdom with him, 275. His death and character, 277.  
Edmund II, son of king Henry III, born, 749. Has the kingdom of Sicily offered to him by the pope, 767. Invested in that kingdom by the bishop of Bononia, 770. Introduced into parliament in Apulian dress, 776. Gets the estates of Simon Montfort earl of Leicester, 807. Returns to England with the queen, 808. Is made earl of Derby, and has Kennelworth castle given him, 810. Marries Avelina, the daughter of the earl of Albemarle, 815.  
Edmund, earl of Cornwall, marries Margaret, sister of the earl of Gloucester, 817. Commands against the Welsh, 905. Dies, 942.  
Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, his wholesome advice to king Henry III, 729. Opposes the earl of Leicester's marriage with the king's sister, 734. Retires to a monastery in France, where he dies, 737, 852.  
Edmund, brother to king Edward I. Vide Lancaster.  
Edmund, son of king Edward I, has 6000 merks settled upon him by his father, 958.  
Edmundsbury, St. (formerly Badricesworth) destroyed by Sweyn the Dane, and presents offered at St. Edmund's shrine by Canute, 268. Where barons hold a council, and take an oath of association against king John, 631. A parliament held there by Henry III, about reducing the rebels of Ely, 811.  
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Edric, king of Kent, his death, 131.  
Edric Streon, duke of Mercia, murders the husband and son of Gunhilda, 261. Is made duke of Mercia by king Ethelred, 262. Assassinated Alfhelm, 263. Puts two Danish noblemen to death, 269. Brings over 40 English ships to king Canute, deserts and betrays king Edmund, 274. Is put to death by Canute, 279.  
Edric, son of Alfric, refuses to submit to William I, 357. But submits, and is received into favour, 367.  
Edward the Elder, succeeds Alfred, and his precautions against Ethelwald, 228. Makes a treaty with the Danes, and kills two of their kings, 229. Rebuilds Hertford, fortifies Witton, and founds the university of Cambridge, 230. Rebuilds Maldon in Essex, is in great danger, but rescued by his son Athelstan, 232. Subdues the Danes, 233. Subdues the Welsh and Britons of Strath Cluyde, his character and conduct, 234. His private character, and defect of his government, 235.  
Edward the Martyr, succeeds his father Edgar, 251. His legitimacy disputed, supported by Dunstan; his tragical end, 252.  
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Edward the Confessor, son of king Ethelred, sent by his mother Emma to his uncle Richard III. duke of Normandy, 271. Comes to England, 292. Is chosen king by the states, by the interest of earl Godwin, 295. Is crowned, his character, and unnatural treatment of his mother, 296. For which he does penance, 297. Marries Editha, earl Godwin's daughter, 298. Incensed against earl Godwin, and calls a meeting of the states, 300. Releases the tribute of danegelt, and his partiality to the Normans, 302. Concludes a peace with Godwin, and brings him to trial for the murder of his brother Alfred, 303. Calls in Edward the Outlaw, the son of Edmund, 308. Declares war against the Welsh, 309. Consecrates the monastery of Westminster, and his charters to it, 311. Dies, his adventure with a thief, touches for the king's evil, reflections on his reign, 312. His relics translated into a shrine of gold by king Henry III. in Westminster abbey, 815.  
Edward I. born, 736. The nobility swear fealty to him, 737. Is married to Eleanor princess of Castile, 766. Returns to England, 771. The Welsh refuse to pay him homage, 176. Seizes upon the treasury of the knights-templars, 792. Defeats the Londoners at the battle of Lewes, 796. Surrenders himself a hostage to Leicester for the performance of the man of Lewes, 797. He escapes; and, being joined by the earl of Gloucester, defeats Simon Montfort the younger, 805. Defeats and kills Simon Montfort and his son at Evesham; and sets his father, uncle, &c. at liberty, 806. His encounter with Adam Gurden, 809. Reduces the lord John Vescy, 811. And the rebels of the isle of Ely, 812. Takes upon him the cross, 813. Mortgages the revenues of Bourdeaux to the king of France, 815. Is wholly reconciled to the earl of Gloucester, and proceeds in his expedition of the crusade, 816. 878. Is wounded with a poisonous dagger, but recovers, 879. Makes a peace with the sultan, and hears the news of his father's death, 880. Overcomes the count of Chalons in France, 881. Does homage to the king of France, returns to England, and is crowned at Westminster, 883. His character and person, 884. Confirms the great charter, and marches against the prince of Wales, 887. Conquers the isle of Wight, and makes a peace with the prince of Wales, 889. Orders king Arthur's bones to be exposed to view, and interred near the high altar, ibid. Does homage to the king of France, and ratifies the treaty of Abbeville, 890. Confirms the gift of Guildhall to the German merchants, 892. Divides Wales among his great men, 895. His demands of the pope, 900. Goes to France, and form of the homage he performed to that king, 903. Assists the king of Denmark, and procures the liberty of the prince of Salerno, 904. Returns to England, and enquires into the corruption of judges, 907. Proposes to marry his son prince Edward to the queen of Scots, and articles thereupon, 908. Brings over the bishop of St. Andrew's to his interest, 909. Is proposed umpire by the Scots competitors, and claims the direct superiority of Scotland, 912. Receives the submission of all the competitors, and has all the forts of that kingdom delivered into his hands, 913. Declares both kingdoms united by his superiority, and adjudges that kingdom to John Baliol, 914. Is summoned to appear

at the court of France, 915. Obliges the king of Scots to appear in person, and plead his cause at the bar, 916. Sends a defiance to the king of France, 918. Carries away the marble stone at Scone, and all the ancient records of Scotland, 923. Takes the submission of all the community of Scotland, 924. Makes a league with the earl of Flanders, 926. Goes to Flanders, and his progress there, 931, 932. Returns to England, and makes preparations against the Scots, 933. Defeats the Scots at Falkirk, 935. Marries Margaret sister to the king of France, and restores their charter to the city of London, 938. Confirms the great charter, with the additional articles, 939. Again invades Scotland, and takes the castle of Stirling, 940. His declaration to the pope concerning his dominion over Scotland, 943. Keeps his Christmas in Scotland, and summons a parliament to Stamford, 946. Holds a parliament at St. Andrew's in Scotland, 949. His views in regulating the civil polity of Scotland, 951. His barbarities to the Scots, 956. Bestows John Balliol's English estates on the earl of Britanny, and banishes Pierce Gaveston, 957. Makes settlements upon his younger children, and dies at Burgh upon the Sands, in his expedition into Scotland, 958. Reforms and improves the English law, 959. His wives and issue, 960, 961. Edward of Caernarvon born, 900, 960. A marriage proposed between him and Margaret queen of Scots, 908. And articles of agreement upon it with the Scotch deputies, 909. Summons a parliament at London, 931. Commands at the head of his shining battalion against the Scots, 940. Is made prince of Wales and earl of Chester, 944. Is entirely guided by Pierce Gaveston, 957. Is knighted, and invested in the duchy of Aquitain, 955. Edwin, of the blood-royal of Northumberland, is forced to take refuge at the court of Redwald, 145. Reforms the kingdom, and marries Ethelberg, whereby he became Christian, 146. Conquers Quinchelm, depopulates Wesssex, and is baptized by Paulin at York, 147. Is killed in battle, with his son Offred, and his head interred in York, 148. Edwin, brother of king Athelstan, accused of treason, and drowned, 238. Edwin and Morchar, earls, rebel against William I; the former murdered by his own people, 371. Edwin's-cliff, a battle fought there, between Mollo and the rebels of Northumberland, 153. Edwy, his character; banishes St. Dunstan, turns out the monks, and conspiracy formed against him, 245. Has only Wesssex left him; his death, 246. Egbert, king of Kent, murders his two nephews, and compounds with their sister Dorneva, and dies, 130. Egbert, archbishop of York, first established a library there, 153. Recovers the privilege of the pall, and dies, 184. Egbert, a priest from Ireland, his success with the British clergy in the isle of Hye to conform to the church of Rome, 177. Egbert, when he began to grow famous, goes to Charlemagne king of France, 141. Succeeds Brithric, as first sovereign of the heptarchy, 142. Is invited by the West Saxons, 191. Subdues Cornwall, makes penal laws against the Britons, and demolishes the statue of Ceadwalla, *ibid*. Is become sovereign of all England to the south of the Humber, and crowned first king of Britain, 194. Summons a parliament; defeats the Danes; his death, and character, 195. Reflection on the degeneracy of the Saxon government in his time, and account of the Danes, 196, 197. Egcleric, abbot of Croyland, account of his bells, 339. Egfin, abbot of St. Augustine's, in Canterbury, has prelatical badges bestowed upon him by pope Alexander II, 345. Egferth, son of Offa, king of Mercia, is associated by his father, 161. Which is confirmed by the synod of Calcluith, 185. His short reign, 162. Egfrid, king of Northumberland, deprives Wilfrid of his see, 151. A farther account of the difference between him and Wilfrid, 171, 172, &c. whom he throws in jail, 173. Sends Beretus to reduce Ireland; he and his army cut off by the Picts, 151. Egilvin, bishop of Durham, upon finding a treasure, retires from his see, 244. Makes peace with William the Conqueror, 363.

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Excites young Henry and brothers against their father, and her jealousy of Rosamond Clifford, 537. Her confinement and cruelty to Rosamond, 566. Is left-regent, and passes an act of general indemnity, 571. Exacts an oath of allegiance to her son, 572. Her jointure settled by king Richard, 574. His character, 622. Is besieged by prince Arthur in Mirabel, but relieved by John, 632. Her death, 637. Eleanor, sister of Arthur earl of Britanny, taken in Mirabel, and confined 40 years in Bristol castle, 633. Has a personal interview with her uncle king John at Salisbury, 642. Dies, 740. Eleanor, sister to king Henry III, married to Simon Montfort, 734. Taken in Dover castle, goes to France, and dies in a monastery, 808. Eleanor, daughter to the earl of Provence, married to king Henry III, 731. Hinders him to make a peace with the barons, and why, 793. Goes to France with the king, and stays there, 794. Engages foreigners to invade England, 800. Returns to England, 808. 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Elphegus, archbishop of Canterbury, holds several councils, 340, 341. Is slain by the Danes, 205. Eluanus, sent by Lucius king of the Britons to the bishop of Rome, 74. Elwal ap Meyric defeats the Danes; Meredyth, and Tewdor Mawr in a pitched battle, 255. Is killed by Sweyn king of Denmark, 256. Ely, isle of, defended by Hereward de Wake and some noblemen against king William I, 371. Is betrayed and delivered up by the monks, and upon what terms, 372. Seized by the dispossessed barons in Henry III's time, 809. Reduced by prince Edward, 812. Ely abbey, by whom founded, 171. Burnt by the Danes, 207. The lands of it plundered by king William I, and obliged to pay a large sum, 372, 373. The lands of the abbey distracted, and sentence given in its favour, 381. Erected into a bishopric by Harvey bishop of Bangor, 828. Nigel bishop of Ely escapes to the castle of the Devizes, 471. The cathedral ransomed by the prior for 100 merks, 688. Emric succeeds his father Offa as king of Kent, 104. Emma, mother-in-law to Eadwald, son of Ethelbert, 129. Emma, daughter of Richard II, duke of Normandy, married to king Ethelred II, 259. Goes over to France with her two sons Edward and Alfred, 267. Her issue, 271, 272. Is married by Canute the Great, 280. Her issue by him, 287. Is banished by Harold, and retires to Bruges, 290. Is charged with incontinency, and cleared by ordeal, 295. Her death, 302. Emma, the wife of Ralph de Waker, earl of Norfolk, holds out Norwich castle against king William I, 129. Eneon, son of Owen prince of South Wales, killed by a rebellion of his subjects, 254. England, when first so called, and by whom, 194. English, an Englishman who steals, his punishment, 138. The several vices they learned from foreigners, 251. Their dress and manners in Edward the Confessor's time, 313. And in the reign of William Rufus, 423. Eoppa, brother to Penda, and grandfather to Ethelbald king of Mercia, 158. Eoric, a Danish prince of East Angles, killed by the Kentishmen, 229. 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ford, 140. Plunders Northumberland, 152. His character; applies to Guthlac the hermit; and founds Croyland monastery, 158. Grants a charter to the church, 183. Defeats the Britons, and is murdered by Beornred, 159.

Ethelbald, eldest son of king Ethelwulf, divides the kingdom with his father, and governs Wessex, 204.

Ethelbert, king of Kent, is defeated by Cæaulin at Wimbleton in Surrey, 105. Is made head of the Saxon confederacy, seizes the kingdom of Mercia, and marries Birtha, 108. His private attachments to Christianity, and reasons for the same, 127. Declares himself a Christian, composes the first body of laws in the English language, 128. Builds St. Paul's church at London, 142. Makes a present of his palace at Canterbury to St. Augustine and the clergy, 165. Dies, and is succeeded by his son Eadbald, 129.

Ethelbert, king of East Angles, together with Penda, are slain in battle by Oswy king of Northumberland, 150, 156.

Ethelbert, son of Ethelred king of East Angles, treacherously murdered by Offa king of Mercia, as he came to court his daughter, 156.

Ethelbert, son of Ethelwulf, succeeds to the kingdom of Kent, 204. His death, and burial at Sherburn, 205.

Ethelberg, sister to Eadbald king of Kent, married to Edwin king of Northumberland, and effects of it, 146. Is obliged to return to Kent with bishop Paulin, 148.

Ethelburg, the wife of Ina, defeats Eadbert, and seizes Taunton castle, 138. Persuades her husband to turn monk, and goes after him to Rome, 139.

Etheigar, bishop of Selsey, succeeds Dunstan in the see of Canterbury, 340.

Ethelhard succeeds Ina in the kingdom of Wessex, 139. Dies without issue, 146. Attacked the dominions of Ethelbald king of Mercia, 158.

Ethelmar, earl of Cornwall, gives hostages to Sweyn king of Denmark, 267.

Ethelmar, uterine brother to king Henry III, is elected bishop of Winchester, 756. Goes with his brothers to France, 784. Receives consecration from the pope, and dies at Paris, 789, 850. King Henry's letter to the pope, about restoring him to his see, 867.

Ethelred succeeds his brother Wulfer in the kingdom of Mercia, and defeats Lothar king of Kent, 130, 157. Turns out Putta bishop of Rochester, 171. Conquers Lindsey from Egfrid king of Northumberland, 151, 157. Divides Mercia into 5 dioceses, resigns part of his kingdom, and turns monk, 158. Protects bishop Wilfrid, but drives him out of the see of Leicester, 174.

Ethelred, king of Northumberland, and son of Mollo, kills Osred, and marries Alfred, daughter of Offa king of Mercia, 153. Is killed by a rebellion of his subjects, and is succeeded by Osbald, 154.

Ethelred succeeds Beorna, as king of East Angles, 156.

Ethelred, earl of Mercia, marries king Alfred's sister, and is made governor of London, 219.

Ethelred I, king of England, succeeds his brother Ethelbert, 205. He, with his brother Alfred, are defeated by the Danes and Basung and Merton, 210. Dies, and is buried at Winburn, ibid.

Ethelred II, author of Danegelt, is opposed by Dunstan, 253. Is betrayed by Elfric, 255. His difference with the duke of Normandy, 256. Marries Emma, daughter of Richard II, duke of Normandy; and character of his council, 259, 260. Resolves upon a barbarous massacre of the Danes, 261. Restores the marine, and his tax for the maintenance of it, 263. Abandons his subjects, 267. Abdicates the throne; but is recalled by the English, 268. Joins the Londoners; his death, wives, and issue, 271.

Ethelred, a West Saxon lord, rebels against Cuthred, and defeats Ethelred king of Mercia in a single combat, 140.

Ethelwald, king of East Angles, 156.

Ethelwald, king of Mercia, with Cuthred king of Wessex defeat the Britons, 140.

Ethelwald rebels against Edward the Elder, flies to the Danes, and then to France, 228. Returns, ravages Mercia, and is killed, 229.

Ethelwold betrays king Edgar, and marries the fair Elfrida, 248. Is killed by Edgar at a hunting-match, 249.

Ethelwulf succeeds his father Egbert, as monarch

of England, 197. Attacks the Danes, but is defeated, 198. Makes his son Athelstan king of Kent, 199. His 4th son, Alfred the Great, born, 200. Sends him to Rome, to be anointed by the pope, 201. Grants a charter of tythes to the church, and marries Judith of France, 203, 326. Divides the kingdom with his son Ethelbald; his will, and death, 204.

Ethelwulf, the ealdorman, slain by the Danes at Reading, 210.

Ethelwulf, made bishop of Winchester, 336.

Ethercus, archbishop of Arles, entertains St. Augustine and Romish missionaries, sent to convert the Saxons of Britain, 115.

Eve, daughter of Dermot king of Leinster, married to Richard earl of Striguel, according to agreement, 525.

Evesham monastery, founded and built by Egwin bishop of Worcester, and his charter confirmed by the synod of Calne, 176.

Evesham, where prince Edward defeated and killed the earl of Leicester and his son, 806.

Eu, William earl of, impeached of high treason against William Rufus, and his punishment, 411.

Eudo, chaplain to William I, demands the keys of his master's treasury, and Dover castle, 369.

Eureux, William earl of, assists Henry I. against Robert duke of Normandy, 435.

Eustace, earl of Bulloign, his insolence to the inhabitants of Canterbury, 299. Invited by the Kentish men to surprise the castle of Dover, 357. Joins in rebellion against Rufus, 398.

Eustace, king Stephen's son, invested in the duchy of Normandy by the king of France, 466. Contracted to Constantia, sister to the king of France, 474. Receives the fealty of some of the nobility, and proposed to crown him king, 489. His death, 491.

Eustace the monk, admiral of the French fleet, 690. Taken prisoner, and loses his head, 702.

Eustace, abbot of Flay, his history, 842.

Exchequer, was robbed of 100,000l. 948.

Exchequer court, erected by William I, 378.

Excommunication, the form of the sentence pronounced against all violators of the great charter, &c. before king Henry III, 764, 765.

Exeter, seized by the Danish cavalry, 213. Besieged by Alfred, 214. Reduced by king Athelstan, 240. Levelled to the ground by Sweyn king of Denmark, 261. Rebels against king William I, who pardons the inhabitants, 359.

## F.

**F**AIR, a great one proclaimed at Westminster, which lasted for 15 days, 735.

Falkirk, where king Edward I. defeated the Scots, 934.

Famagusta, capital of Cyprus, taken by king Richard I, 586.

Family feuds, encouraged by the ancient Saxons, 119.

Famine in England, 78. And plague, 207. Another, occasioned by the devastations of the Danes, 262. A great one, attended with diseases and mortality, in the reign of William I, 386. And from what causes, 387.

Farndon, where king Edward the Elder died, 234. Farringdon castle, in Berkshire, besieged by king Stephen, and taken by storm, 485, 486.

Fealty (fidelity) all the English swear fidelity to king Alfred, 219. Taken by Malcolm king of Scots, to king Edmund, for Cumberland, 242. And by two princes of North Wales, to Edward the Confessor, and to Harold, 310.

Fees (fodal tenures) made hereditary by William the Conqueror, 360. Did nobilitate, and hold of the king in capite, 369. Vide Tenures.

Fee-tail estate, the antiquity of it, by the 37th law of king Alfred, concerning bockland, 221.

Feodal law, introduced by the Saxons, 247. Its farther progress, under William the Conqueror, 366.

Ferrars, Robert de, made earl of Derbyshire by king Stephen, 470.

Feverham abbey, founded by king Stephen, where he was buried, with his queen and son, 493.

Fighting, punishment of it, by king Ina's laws, 137, 138. Punishment of those who fight in the king's palace, by the 7th law of king Alfred, 220.

Fines and amerciaments, made a branch of the revenues of the crown, by William I, 382. Fines

and debts due to the crown, forgiven by the charter of king Henry I, 426.

Finnan, bishop of Lindisfarn, baptises Sigebert the Great, king of Essex, and consecrates Ced bishop of East Saxons, 142.

Fitz-adelm, William, appointed lieutenant of Ireland after Strongbow, 550. Is recalled from his government, and succeeded by Hugh de Lucy, 553.

Fitz-arnulph, Constantine, a citizen of London, heads a mob, 706. Offers 15,000 merks for his life, but is hanged, 707.

Fitz-cutger, Gilbert, admiral of the Cork fleet, defeated, and by whom, 544.

Fitz-geoffrey, John, justiciary of Ireland, defeats the Welsh in Anglesey, 750.

Fitz-gerald, Maurice, takes Dublin, 521. Obliged to serve as knight under Robert Fitz-bernard, governor of Wexford, 536.

Fitz-haimon, reconciled to William Rufus, 399. Conquers part of Wales, 405. Pays a hundred shillings to a monk, by the king's orders, 420.

Sides with king Henry I. against Robert, 426.

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Mareschal, William earl, the younger, defeats the Welsh, and builds Kilgarren castle, 708. Is made high justiciary of Ireland, marries his sister to Richard earl of Cornwall, dies, 720.

Mareschal, Richard earl, succeeds his brother, offers homage to the king, but is refused, and sentenced to be banished, 721. Inveighs against foreigners, 725. Enters into a confederacy with the Welsh, is proscribed, and his estates given to foreigners, 726. Defeats the king's army, and in great danger of an ambuscade, 727. His estates in Ireland destroyed, by contrivance of the English ministry, 729. Is betrayed and killed by the Irish, 730.

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Mareschal, Anselm earl, succeeds; in him failed the heirs male of that family, and the estate divided among the five surviving daughters, 750.

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Margan abbey, where Richard earl mareschal had a conversation with a friar, 727.

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 Margaret, daughter of king Edward I, married to the son of the duke of Brabant, 910.  
 Margaret, sister to the king of France, married to king Edward I, 938. Account of her and her issue, 960.  
 Margaret, heiress of Holland, contracted to Alphonso, eldest son of king Edward I, 895.  
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 Matilda, daughter of the earl of Flanders, and queen of king William I, crowned by Aldred archbishop of York, 362. Dies, and buried in Trinity nunnery in Caen, 386. A farther account of her and her issue, 391.  
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William II, his difficulties at his father's death, applies to archbishop Lanfranc, 396. Is favoured by the English, and is crowned, 397. Restores Odo to his estates in England, ibid. His generosity to the church, his conduct against Robert's faction, 398. Gains over most of the rebels with the earl of Shrewsbury, 399. Takes Tunbridge and Rochester, 400. Keeps the bishoprics and church-livings vacant, 401. Makes a peace with Malcolm king of Scots, and upon what terms, 405. Fortifies Carlisle, falls sick, and makes Anselm archbishop of Canterbury, 406. His haughty behaviour to the king of Scots, ibid. His good-nature to Edgar Atheling, 407. Bribes the king of France from his alliance with Robert, and returns to England, 409. His inglorious expedition against the Welsh, ibid. A conspiracy of Mowbray and others against him, is in great danger of an ambuscade, 410. Takes Bamborough castle, crushes the rebels, and marches into Wales, 411. The dispute between him and archbishop Anselm, 412. Outwitted by Alba, the pope's legate, 415. Makes war with France and the Welsh, restores Edgar prince of Scotland to his throne,

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throne, 416. He builds London bridge, 417. And Westminster hall, 418. Surrounds the tower of London with new walls, *ibid.* His generosity to earl Hely, 419. Aquitain mortgaged to him by William earl of Poictou, is killed by Tyrrel, his character, 420. His generosity to a poor monk, 421. His principles of religion, *ibid.* His character from Malmesbury, and his magnificence, 422. His chastity, character of the English under him, 423.

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William, son of king Henry I, contracted to the earl of Anjou's daughter, 440. The Normans swear fealty to him, 441. Is declared heir to the crown, in a general council of the English nobility, 442. His polite behaviour to his cousin, prince William of Normandy, 446. Does homage for Normandy to the king of France, his character, 447. Is shipwrecked and drowned, in his return from Normandy, 448.

William, 3d son of king Stephen, his titles, and marriage, 494. Swears fealty to duke Henry, as heir apparent to the crown, 492. Broke his leg on Barham-downs, 493. Is deprived, by Henry, of all the estates he held of the crown, 497. Is killed at the siege of Tholouse, 503.

William, king of Scotland, succeeds his brother Malcolm the Maiden, 514. Demands Northumberland to be redelivered by king Henry II, 516. Joins in the confederacy against Henry the elder, 538. Invades England, and makes a truce with Richard de Lucy, king Henry's general, 540. Takes several castles, besieges Alnwick, where he is taken prisoner, and sent to Richmond castle, 541. Is presented to Henry at Northampton in a most ignominious manner, 542. Gives up the independency of the crown of Scotland to king Henry, which is ratified by the Scotch nobility at York, and delivers up his castles, 547. Has the earldom of Huntingdon and the castle of Edinburgh restored to him, as a dowry with Eremengarda, 560. Has all his castles delivered to him, and the independency of his crown, by a charter from king Richard I, for paying 10,000 merks in silver, 574. Sends a body of troops to the regency against earl John, 596. Obtains a charter from king Richard, settling the manner of his entertainment in England, 602. Renews his demands in a peremptory manner with king John, 625. Performs homage to king John, 628.

William, archbishop of Canterbury, his character, 460. At first refuses to crown king Stephen; but consents, 461. Dies intestate, and his estate and revenues seized by Stephen, 465.

William, king of Sicily, marries Joanna, daughter to Henry II, and confirms her dower by charter, 549.

William de Albany, cupbearer to William I, 361.

William de Warren, forester to William I, 361. And made earl of Surrey, 368. Reconciled to William Rufus, 399. His son signs the charter of liberties of king Stephen, 463.

William Fitz-beauchamp, made high-chancellor of England, in the place of Milo earl of Hereford, 474.

William, archbishop of York, his history, being poisoned by a monk, 832.

William, an English bishop of Roschild in Denmark, his history, 342.

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Wilton (Ellandune) where Egbert defeated Beornulf king of Mercia, 192. Where king Ethelwulf granted his great charter of tythes to the church, 203. Burnt by Sweyn king of Denmark, 262.

Wimbledon, in Surrey, where Ceaulin defeated Ethelbert king of Kent, 105.

Winburn monastery, founded by Queenburga and Cuthburga, sisters of Ina of Wessex, 138. the burial-place of king Ethelred, 210.

Winchelcomb monastery, in Gloucestershire, built by Cenulf king of Mercia, and its consecration, 131. Where his young son Kenelm, being murdered by his sister Queenrida, was buried, 162.

Winchester, where Cerdic king of the Saxons was crowned, 101. St. Peter's church there built by Cenwal king of the West Saxons, 134. Plundered by the Danes, 205. Rebuilt by king Alfred, 223. Where he built a monastery, 332. Measure of Winchester to be the standard by the 8th of Edgar, 251. The castle delivered to the empress Maud, where she was proclaimed queen, 478. A great part of it burnt, with the abbey of Hyde, 481.

Winchester, Saheer earl of, sent deputy by the barons to invite over prince Lewis of France, 689. Is made general to the prince, 700.

Windsor castle, held out for king John against the barons, 695. Defended by prince Edward; but is obliged to surrender it, 795.

Winfred, bishop of the Mercians, deposed by Theodore archbishop of Canterbury, 170.

Wippedesfleat, where the Saxons defeat the Britons, 89.

Wiregild, the valuation of a man's life by the Saxon law, 241.

Wisbich castle, built by king William I, to distress the rebels of the isle of Ely, 372.

Witham, in Essex, built and fortified by Edward the Elder, 230.

Withred, king of Kent, a great benefactor to the church, 131. Was obliged to pay 30,000 merks in gold to Ina king of Wessex, for death of his brother Mollo, 138. His laws concerning clergymen, 346.

Withgar, and Stufe, nephews of Cerdic, arrive in Britain, 99. Dies in the isle of Wight, and buried in Carisbrook, 104.

Withlaff, an eolderman, chosen king of Mercia; is driven out by Egbert, and concealed by Ceward abbot of Croyland, 193. By whose intercession he is reinstated in his kingdom, 194. His charter to Croyland-abbey confirmed in a great council, 326.

Withrington, Sir John, killed, 934.

Woden, an idol of the ancient Saxons, 121. And the common father of the northern nations, 196.

Wodenburgh, in Wiltshire, where Ceaulin was defeated by the Britons and Scots, 107. And where Ina king of Wessex fought a battle against Ceolred, 138.

Wodnesfield, where Edward the Elder defeats the Danes, and kills two of their kings, 229.

Wolves, a tribute of so many wolves heads, to be paid to king Edgar by North Wales, instead of money, 247.

Woodstock, where king Ethelred made several good laws, 272. The palace built, and a park enclosed, the first of that kind in England, 449. Where king Henry III. narrowly escapes assassination, 735.

Worcester, burnt by Hardicanute; but rebuilt by the inhabitants, 294.

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Wred, king of the Picts, defeated by Kenneth king of Scots, 198.

Wulfeath, his eyes put out by order of king Ethelred, 262.

Wulhelm, archbishop of Canterbury, dies, and is succeeded by Odo a Dane, 334.

Wulfnorth, father of earl Godwin, turns pirate, and his successor, 263.

Wulfrid, archbishop of Canterbury, his dispute with Kenulf; is interdicted by the pope, 189.

Wulpher, king of Mercia, converts Adelwolch king of Sussex, and gives him the isle of Wight, 132. Fights at Pontesbury against Cenwall, and at Bedwin against Eswin king of Wessex, 135. Sells the bishopric of London; his death, 157.

Wulstan, is consecrated bishop of Worcester by Alstan, 345. Submits to William the Conqueror, 352. Prevents the earl of Hereford from passing the Severn, 377. Defends the castle of Worcester for William Rufus against the rebels, 399. Is made archbishop of York, and recovers the lands alienated from his bishopric, 822.

Wyna, buys the bishopric of London from Wulpher king of Mercia, the first instance of Simony in the English history, 157. *Vid. Simony.*

## Y.

YARROW, St. Paul's church there robbed and burnt by the Norman soldiers, 367.

Year and day allowed for the discovery of murder by the 15th law of Edward the Confessor, 314.

York, where Severus the emperor dies, 54. And also Constantius Chlorus, 59. A general council held there by Ambrosius, 92. Paulinus was first bishop of it, who converts Edwin, and the Northumbrians, 168. A noble library founded there by Egbert, 153. Seized by the Danes, and surrounded with a wall, 206. Taken by Reginald, 234. A Danish fort there taken by king Athelstan, 237. Stormed and plundered by Harfagar king of Norway, 316. Extent of the province of York, and number of dioceses subject to it, 347. Burnt by the Normans, and retaken by the Scots and Danes, 365. Taken by William I, where he kept his Christmas, 367.

York, the primate of, bastinado'd, 835. The disputes between Canterbury and it, about precedence, decided by pope Alexander III, 822, 835.

Yric, had Northumberland given him by king Canute, 271. Who strips him of it again, 280. Yrling and Lathen, Danes, land at Sandwich, and commit great havock, 298.

## Z.

ZEALAND, the effects of the Zealand merchants are ordered to be arrested by king Edward I, 892.

Zouch, lord, assaulted in the king's court by the earl of Surrey, who was obliged to give public satisfaction, 816.

Zouch, Allan de la, farms a part of Wales for 1100 merks from Henry III, 758. Is one of the commissioners appointed to draw up the statute of Kennelworth, concerning the disinherited barons, 810.



E N D O F T H E F I R S T V O L U M E.